

*Nominating Hon. James A. Farley
for President*

Address by HON. CARTER GLASS of Virginia

*Second Session Democratic
National Convention*

Address by HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Democratic National Convention

Preconvention Radio Address by
HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

Hon. James A. Farley

Convention Resolution Thanking Chairman Farley
for His Services

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NOMINATING HON. JAMES A. FARLEY FOR
PRESIDENT

ADDRESS

BY

HON. CARTER GLASS

OF VIRGINIA

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record the address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] at the recent Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Ill., placing in nomination for the Presidency Hon. James A. Farley, of New York.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the National Democratic Convention, there is no material consideration and few spiritual reasons that can draw me from a sickroom halfway across the continent to speak a brief word to this national convention of the great Democratic Party. But among these spiritual considerations, first of all, is a desire to present to this convention the name of an incomparable Democrat who has conducted the affairs of the Democratic Party for 7 years in a way that no other man within my recollection of 40 years of public service has ever done.

Always eager to be an intense partisan, always eager to have his party win, nevertheless he was a man of such a type of patriotism as always to put his country above party considerations, a genius in matters of a political nature, so thoroughly well versed in the sentiment and observance of the action of the people of the United States as to have twice predicted the success in this party so accurately as that he claimed but two States in the Union would go against his party.

He is not only a man of loyal attachment to the Democratic Party, but there is no manner of personal or political reward that would sufficiently secure him for the sacrifices he has made to his party. A man of character and intelligence, a man on whose word every human being can always rely, a man who never in all his lifetime ever violated a pledge once given, a man who believes in the unwritten law and the traditions of the Democratic Party as advocated ever since the day of Thomas Jefferson, who less than 3 years before his

death appealed to the party which he established never to nominate a man for the third term for the Presidency; and Virginia, always mindful of the principles enunciated by Thomas Jefferson as immortal, stands today unmoved, from any source, from the principles advocated by the founder of the Democratic Party; and through consideration for the party itself, for its success and perpetuity, I have come from a sickbed to present to this convention the name of a great Democrat, James A. Farley, of New York. If nominated by this convention, there will not be a shadow of doubt as to his election next November.

Let me say this word in conclusion: Since I have been sitting on this platform I have had two anonymous communications objecting to Jim Farley because he is a Catholic. When I reflect that one of the three achievements of Thomas Jefferson which he most valued was the Virginia statute in favor of religious freedom, it made me more determined to present his name than I otherwise would be.

SECONDING SPEECH OF HON. PAT DOYLE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. Chairman, delegates to the national convention, ladies and gentlemen, I promise that I shall be very brief. [Applause and cheers.] As a member of the Massachusetts delegation, the only delegation in this Nation pledged to James A. Farley, I am proud to have been chosen to second his nomination. [Applause and cheers.]

There is no need for me to stand upon this platform and to extol the virtues, the loyalty, and the tremendously effective work that has been done by Jim Farley for the Democratic Party. [Applause and cheers.] All those things are known to everyone in this assemblage, to every Democrat in this Nation, to every American whether he be a Republican or a Democrat. [Applause.]

The Massachusetts delegation pledged itself to Jim Farley because it had an abounding faith in his ability, his integrity, his unselfish devotion to the splendid cause of our great democracy. [Applause.] No other State in this great Nation has any more admiration, respect, or understanding of the great achievements of our great national leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, than have the members of the Massachusetts delegation. We know that his administration will go down in American history as among the greatest and most beneficial ever enjoyed by our people. None can challenge our deep sentiment of appreciation for the magnificent work which President Roosevelt has accomplished. [Applause.]

But we of Massachusetts have pledged our word to Farley. [Applause.] The name of Farley in this country is synonymous with straight shooting. [Applause.] We who have given our word, we who have been elected by the Democrats

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of Massachusetts to come to the Democratic Convention to vote for Jim Farley, want to show him, our true friend and outstanding leader, that we in the Old Bay State know what it means to make a pledge and keep it [applause], even in the face of a difficult situation.

Therefore, in the name of those men and women who went to the polls and instructed us to cast our vote for Jim Farley, and in the name of those delegates from Massachusetts who are with Farley, I stand here tonight honored and privileged to second the nomination for President of the United States of a great and true Democrat, beloved by everyone, the Honorable James A. Farley, of New York. [Applause.]

SECONDING SPEECH OF HON. RAYMOND M. FISHER, OF NEW YORK

Senator BARKLEY, fellow delegates, and your guests, it is a distinct privilege to second the nomination of my friend and yours. For upward of a quarter of a century I have been associated with him in public life. He and I are neighbors. We are Rockland County home-town boys. I have watched his advancement step by step from town clerk of the town of Stony Point to the office of the Postmaster General of the United States in the Cabinet of our President [applause], from a district committeeman in his district at Grassy Point to the chairmanship of this great national organization. Back home he has long since been known for an unflinching loyalty, a thorough application to duty, and a genial personality.

You, too, over the years, have grown to love him for these splendid attributes of character. To say more to any group of Democrats assembled at any place at any time is, in my opinion, unnecessary. It is therefore my honor to second the nomination for the Presidency of the United States of the Honorable James A. Farley, of New York. [Applause.]

SECONDING SPEECH OF PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Mr. Chairman, the delegation representing the district of the Canal Zone, down low in the roll call, but high up in the admiration of the unsurpassed administration of our beloved President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in obedience to our unit rule, directs me to inform this convention and the outstanding organizer who has marshalled perhaps the friendliest, the most loyal, and the strongest political family in the history of our great party, that they affectionately put their arms around him in the old way, the American way, the only way, by seconding the nomination for President of the United States that upstanding American statesman, the distinguished Postmaster General, James A. Farley. [Applause.]

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In this tribute to the administration that saved the country from complete collapse and started it anew on the road to prosperity, we must not forget the Democratic Congresses which have done their part. True, there have been some issues on which the Members of the national legislative bodies have divided. That is democracy. If there was not this liberty of opinion and the freedom to exercise individual judgment, then indeed we would have a dictatorship. But so long as all of us have the privilege of saying what we think and the right to maintain and work for the enactment of our own ideas and ideals, there can be no threat to our representative form of government.

Our Congresses during the past 8 years have worked sincerely for the betterment of the country, and the results stand as a monument to the sincere patriotism of those who make our laws, representing the combined wisdom of the executive and legislative branches of the Government.

We have heard sharp debates when differences of opinion have arisen. We have heard charges of dictatorship, but actually the total that has gone on the statute books has been the will of the country expressed through the representatives elected by the people to express that will. These differences have no more significance than the ripples on the sea or even the storm waves that rise and pass, leaving the ocean still a great international highway.

For a measure of the service done by the Democratic administration we have only to compare our domestic situation today with what it was when we put a great President in office to repair the damages inflicted by inept and incompetent Republican administrations and elected with him a Democratic Congress that did not falter at the magnitude of the task with which it was entrusted. That task is by no means completed, and when we consider the additional burden imposed by the course of the war overseas, we must realize to the full the responsibilities of this convention. We cannot, of course, ignore what is happening on the other continents. It is going to take the best there is in statesmanship to preserve our liberties. We have not wished for the conditions that have forced us to fashion the greatest navy in the world or to recruit an army of wartime strength.

We have committed ourselves, not only to protect our own continental territory and its outlying possessions, but circumstances have compelled us to pledge a defense of the Monroe Doctrine, which forbids foreign aggression to our sister nations on the American continent. A hundred years ago, when we were still small and weak in comparison with the great military nations, we adopted a doctrine as part of our own defensive system and policy to keep all America American. This course we deemed necessary for our own

well-being, and for a century we have kept this hemisphere safe from colonization or conquest by any predatory power. Whether we like it or not, we must continue that policy.

Under these circumstances, is there a man on this floor, or a real American within the sound of my voice, who should be willing to take the Government out of the hands of the party that has kept the faith and place it in the inexperienced hands of those who aspire to regain control of the Government?

We cannot afford to assume that the efforts of the minority party can be ignored or dismissed as futile. It may well be that we may look forward to a victory in November as great as that we won 4 years ago, but we cannot take anything for granted. The opposition is not only hungry for power but it has enormous resources and will fight desperately and with every political weapon to win. We know, of course, that we have a vast majority of the country with us, but unless we give the country a ticket and a platform that will satisfy the majority we have no certainty of victory. Moreover, though the Nation's sentiment may be on our side, that sentiment will not be expressed unless we get our people, and all our people, to the polls. More than one election has been lost because of overconfidence. That overconfidence causes lack of organization and impels people to think of their private grudges rather than of their public duty. A united democracy with such a record as we have made in the past 8 years can only be defeated by itself. I mean by that that a lukewarm campaign, a belief on the part of one citizen that his vote isn't needed because the other voters will take care of the situation, constitutes our only danger. So I want to urge here on the delegates who will name the standard bearers of the party, and adopt the party platform, that their duties as citizens will not end with this convention.

They have been given great responsibility as the people's representatives to choose the government under which we shall live for the next 4 years. They are men of standing in their communities and of influence in their States. I ask every one of them when they leave this hall, when their work here is done, to take up with enthusiasm and devotion the job that they as leading Democrats must do. They have been honored by their party. They can only repay this favor by devoting themselves to the completion of the task of which the convention's program is only the first step. It devolves on them to be the leaders of democracy in this campaign.

And now, men and women of the Democratic National Convention, it becomes my duty to relinquish the gavel and present to you the temporary officers who will guide your proceedings until you have expressed your views as to the permanent organization. Mine has been a happy service. I have had the

hearty support and cooperation of the national committee, which now goes out of existence, and I want to thank the members from the bottom of my heart, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Democratic Party whose interests they have so sincerely guarded. Let me thank also the delegates to this convention who have done everything possible to expedite and make easier the business of this meeting. I know that your new organization will not let the Democratic Party down, and I firmly believe that every member of this great gathering will give our successors and the new national party organization the same support that was accorded to the national committees in 1932 and 1936; and, if that is so, let me promise you now another triumph next November.

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DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

PRECONVENTION RADIO ADDRESS

BY

HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

A national convention is one of the great political institutions of America. This is especially true of the Democratic convention which opens here tomorrow.

The Democratic Party is the oldest continuing political body in the United States. More than a century ago it was founded by Thomas Jefferson, who saw the need of welding the mass of citizens into a compact organization for the expression of their views on public questions. In Jefferson's day the task of choosing Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees was delegated to a caucus of party members in the House of Representatives. The method was changed some years later under the leadership of Andrew Jackson and his supporters, who wished to give the people a more direct voice in the selection of candidates. The convention system was adopted as the best method for accomplishing this purpose and from that time onward, almost without exception, it has been practiced by all parties in selecting their nominees.

The people of this country look forward to these conventions with eager anticipation, first, because of their interest in the selection of the party standard bearers, and, second, because by the new methods of communication, they are able to get such an intimate and complete picture of the workings of an important phase of democratic government. The average citizen may now sit comfortably in the family living room and listen to the deliberations as they take place in the convention hall.

The convention system, of course, is not perfect. But it has become a permanent fixture of popular government, and I honestly think that any attempt to substitute another method of selecting Presidential nominees would be a mistake.

The interest in the convention now assembling here is perhaps greater than usual because of the third-term question. I regret that it is impossible for me, for obvious reasons, to comment on what may or may not take place. I can only counsel patience, even though we Americans are seldom patient when events of great magnitude are about to take place. In any event, I can assure you that the proceedings of the convention will be well worth hearing.

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Although the formal opening of the convention takes place at noon tomorrow, actually the work of preparation has been going on for months. A group of committee employees has been out here since April studying the facilities of Chicago Stadium and drawing plans to make use of every available inch of space. This past week, however, the preliminary work really began in earnest. The platform committee started its deliberations under the direction of Senator ROBERT F. WAGNER, of New York, and the other pre-convention details were disposed of by the national committee at a meeting on Friday. Everything is in readiness for the fall of the gavel tomorrow.

I have been active in party affairs for many years now, and for one who has an interest in politics there is no thrill like that afforded by a national convention. For the brief period of a few days the convention city becomes the crossroads of America. The delegates come from huge cities, from towns and villages, and from rural areas. They know what the people of America are thinking about, and they are able to give a cross section of opinion better than any other group that could be brought together. I try to visit with as many delegates as possible in order to learn their views and to find what the people of America really want.

This year the interest in foreign affairs is greater than ever because of the tragic events which are taking place across the ocean in Europe. There is some minor difference of opinion as to the stand which the party should take in relation to the party declaration on foreign policy, but there is no division on the vital question of building up the defenses of the United States. I think that, without exception, the people are behind the efforts of the administration to provide a defense force which will be adequate to meet the challenge of any possible combination of foreign powers.

In advance of the party platform and the choice of nominees it would be an act of presumption on my part to predict the course of the coming campaign. However, there is no question that the Democratic Party will make its bid on the record of the Roosevelt administration during the past 8 years in office.

There is a crisis at hand today which calls for the highest order of statesmanship to bring this country safely through. There was a crisis of a different character in 1932 and the Democratic Party was given the task of finding a way out. There would be no purpose in my telling you that everything which has been done since then by the Roosevelt administration is perfect. But I think every fair-minded person should be ready to agree that many excellent things have been accomplished and that the Democratic Party did the job better than it could have been done by any other party.

The basic reforms written into law at Washington for the benefit of all the people will not be undone in our lifetime.

The next 4 years will be crucial for the welfare of the United States. The peaceful world of a few years ago has disappeared and a long time may elapse before normal trade relations between nations are resumed. The man elected by the people to guide the destinies of the Nation will find himself facing problems of tremendous importance. He will be required to move with caution, prudence, and wise understanding to safeguard the interests of the country in the atmosphere of hatred and suspicion which will come after this war as it has after every war in the past.

Under these circumstances partisan considerations will carry less weight with the voters than they have in the past. The one problem for all of us, as loyal Americans, is to find the man best equipped to conduct the affairs of the Nation in such a time.

The first question for the voters to decide is whether the men charged with the conduct of foreign affairs for the past few years have lived up to their responsibilities in adequate fashion. It is my opinion that they have. The administration foresaw the coming of the European war and did everything possible to cushion the national economy against the expected shock. Without becoming involved in any way, the administration spokesmen from first to last raised a mighty voice for peace in an effort to prevent the dreadful carnage which has since taken place. The spokesmen for the opposition party were less farseeing in their attitude. They refused to believe that war was coming, and when it did break out they failed to understand the frightful course which it was about to take. They called it a phoney war and made the fatal blunder of assuming that it would be fought to a stalemate on the battlefields of Europe with no possible danger to this country.

The speed with which the new defense program was gotten under way was due in large measure to the fact that the administration had been laying a solid groundwork for such expansion throughout the past 7 years.

President Roosevelt has always had a deep and sympathetic interest in the Navy. When he took over in March 1933 the Nation's first line of defense was far weaker than it should have been in ships and men. The construction of battleships had stopped completely and many of the vessels of the line were becoming obsolete. The personnel had been cut so drastically that ships were laid up in drydock because there were too few men to operate them. All this was done in the name of economy.

The task of rebuilding was begun at once. This is a slow process because naval vessels cannot be constructed in a hurry. The work was carried out so well, however, that when

the present emergency occurred this spring more than 130 new ships were either completed or well on their way. As a result of this wise program, undertaken in time, the United States Navy is now generally looked upon as the equal of any in the world, and in many respects the best of all.

It should be borne in mind that we want armaments primarily for defense and that the Navy is still our first line of protection against an invading foe. A hostile force, coming across the Atlantic and attempting to land here, would find the rebuilt Navy standing squarely across its path. The air forces of the Army and Navy have also been expanded, giving us a double line of protection.

The Democratic Party will wage this campaign on its record in foreign and domestic affairs. The problems of the past 7½ years have been numerous and difficult. It has been a time of chaos and upheaval all over the world. The administration does not claim to have achieved perfection. Yet it has brought this Nation safely through in better shape than any other country in the world. The cause of democracy and popular government has been served because the average citizen appreciates that the administration has tried to safeguard his economic and social needs.

A solemn duty rests upon the Democratic convention which opens tomorrow. I think the last few years have shown that the party leadership is capable of living up to that duty.

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HON. JAMES A. FARLEY
 CONVENTION RESOLUTION
 THANKING
 CHAIRMAN FARLEY
 FOR HIS SERVICES

"Be it resolved, That this convention take this occasion to testify our sense of obligation to the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, whose service to his party and to his country is unparalleled in the history of political organizations.

"James A. Farley has for 8 years given himself unreservedly to the interests of good government. He told us yesterday that the credit belonged not to him for our unflinching successes during his regime but to the workers of the party. We wish to go on record that without derogation of the value of the loyal support that has been accorded him by the rank and file of our organization, from the high officers to the unnamed workers in the field, that it was the leadership of our organization chief that made their efforts effective, and that therefore we feel that the credit he disclaims still belongs to him.

"For his patience, his urbanity, his willingness to listen and to heed the counsel and advice of every member of the party, high and low, he has endeared himself to the whole personnel of the Democratic Party, and as a tribute to the affection and regard for James A. Farley as a friend, as a leader, and as a magnificent administrator of a great and difficult office, we hereby move that the delegates of this convention stand and put this resolution into the annals of our history.

"MOTION OF HON. JAMES A. FARLEY TO MAKE NOMINATION OF PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT UNANIMOUS

"Senator BARKLEY and fellow Democrats, you have given me on two occasions the highest honor within your gift, chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee. I ask you now for a further courtesy. I ask your indulgence so that I may deliver without interruption a brief message to this great convention.

"I have pursued a course here that has been dictated by the deepest convictions, and when a man fails to follow his sincere convictions, no matter how unpleasant the consequences, he is false to himself, false to his party, and false to his country.

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"I wanted this convention to proceed as Democrats should proceed, to nominate its standard bearers in keeping with the high traditions of our party. That is the only Democratic method and that has been observed.

"My name was placed in nomination for the Presidency of the United States by a great and noble American. As long as I live I shall be grateful to Senator CARTER GLASS, of Virginia. I am grateful to those delegates to this great convention who voted for me and to those delegates who would have voted for me if they had not been otherwise pledged.

"Down through the years I have always given my best efforts to advance the cause of democracy, and I want this great convention of Democrats to know that I will give that same support to the nominees of this convention.

"It is, therefore, a great pleasure for me, Senator BARKLEY, to move to suspend the rules and declare President Franklin D. Roosevelt nominated for President of the United States by acclamation.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES A. FARLEY

"Eight years ago in this city I was elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee. In the intervening years I have had the happiest associations with Democrats all over the country, and my debt to the party can never be repaid.

"I have remained in public life at great financial sacrifice, because I love politics. I have an opportunity now to accept an attractive offer in business, and in justice to my family, because of my financial situation, I am going to accept.

"Before leaving, I shall cooperate to the fullest extent with my successor as national chairman in setting up the machinery for the coming campaign. I have said repeatedly that the American people want the Democratic Party to remain in power. My opinion has not changed, and again I pledge my full support to the Roosevelt-Wallace ticket."

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